

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 DODE-00

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R 131030Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2851

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T GENEVA 3455

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: BEGINNINGS OF NEW INITIATIVES ON FOLLOW-UP

REF: GENEVA 3278

1. SUMMARY: SIGNS ARE INCREASING THAT BOTH NEUTRALS AND ALLIES ARE GIVING THOUGHT TO POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP COMPROMISES. END SUMMARY.

2. SWISS DELEGATION LAST WEEK KICKED OFF NEUTRAL EFFORT TO BREAK FOLLOW-UP DEADLOCK WITH MEETING OF SELECTED WESTERN AND COMMUNIST DELEGATIONS. SPONSORED BY FINNS, AUSTRIANS, YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS, NEUTRAL INITIATIVE RESTS ON WHAT IS AT THIS POINT INCREASINGLY WIDELY-HELD ASSUMPTION (PARA 7 REFTEL) THAT USSR MAY NOW BE WILLING AND EVEN ANXIOUS TO DROP CZECH FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION AND ITS KEY IDEA OF A PERMANENT "ADVISORY COMMITTEE" AS A POTENTIALLY TROUBLESOME THRON IN SOVIET SIDE. NEUTRALS, THEREFORE, CONCLUDED

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THAT TIME MAY BE RIPE TO EVOLVE COMPROMOSE REFLECTING,

INTER ALIA, THEIR OWN INTERESTS. ACCORDING TO SWISS, SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET BEEN CONSULTED ON DETAILS THIS PROJECT, BUT DID NOT "REJECT" IDEA OF FLOATING A "BEEFED-UP" VERSION OF CURRENT DANISH PROPOSAL.

3. SWISS MEETING CONSEQUENTLY ATTEMPTED TO LAY BASIS FOR THIS EFFORT, WITHOUT HOWEVER PRESENTING ACTUAL TEXT, WHICH SWISS SAID WOULD BE CIRCULATED SHORTLY. (DELEGATION DID OBTAIN BACK-CHANNEL COPY OF THIS "NON-PAPER" FROM FRG DELEGATION AND IS TRANSMITTING IT WITH BRIEF ANALYSIS BY SEPTEL.) SWISS PRESENTATION OF MAIN IDEAS OF THEIR PROPOSAL (TEXT OF WHICH WAS IN POSSESSION OF SEVERAL WESTERN DELEGATIONS) SO FAR HAS RECEIVED SUPPORT ONLY FROM ITS SPONSORS. BELGIANS, ITALIANS, AND ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH MADE STRONG STATEMENTS AGAINST GOING BEYOND PRESENT DANISH FOLLOW-UP POSITIONS. US REP GENERALLY SUPPORTED EC-NINE WITHOUT HOWEVER, COMPLETELY EXCLUDING SOME EVENTUAL FLEXIBILITY.

4. BY CONTRAST TO RATHER AMBITIOUS SWISS SUGGESTIONS, WESTERN DELEGATIONS AT SWISS MEETING WERE MUCH MORE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY SIMPLE STATEMENT MADE BY HEAD OF THE FINNISH DELEGATION, WHO POINTED OUT THAT, REGARDLESS OF DETAILS, IN FINNISH JUDGMENT FOLLOW-UP COMPROMISE COULD SOON BE REACHED IF:

A) PRESENT DANISH PROPOSAL WERE AMENDED TO PROVIDE FOR ADEQUATE PREPARATION OF MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS, AND,

B) IF THE PERIODICITY OF SUCH MEETINGS IS ASSURED; IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BY ELIMINATING THE "GUILLOTINE" ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT DANISH TEXT (ACCORDING TO WHICH THE SENIOR OFFICIALS' MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 1977 COULD STOP THE FOLLOW-UP PROCESS).

IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH US, GDR REP TENDED TO CONFIRM THAT "ADEQUATE PREPARATION" AND "PERIODICITY" WERE NOW IN FACT THE ESSENTIAL POINTS FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION,  
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AND THAT IDEA OF ESTABLISHING A "PERMANENT ORGAN" WAS BEING DROPPED.

5. SOME STIRRINGS ON FOLLOW-UP ARE ALSO BECOMING EVIDENT IN THE WESTERN CAMP. ALTHOUGH THE EC-9 ARE OVERTLY CONTINUING THEIR DEFENSE OF THE DANISH TEXT WITH DIFFERING DEGREES OF CONVICTION, THE EC-9 DELEGATIONS TOO SEEM PERSUADED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE READY

TO ABANDON THEIR CZECH PROPOSAL. ALTHOUGH THE EC-9  
DELEGATIONS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY NOT BE PREPARED TO GO AS  
FAR IN THE DIRECTION OF FOLLOW-UP ACTIVISM AS THE NEUTRALS,  
THEY WERE STRUCK BY THE TWO FINNISH POINTS, OUT-  
LINED ABOVE. AS A RESULT, WE ARE TOLD BY THE HEAD OF  
DANISH DELEGATION, ON HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS, THAT THE  
EC-9 DELEGATION HEADS HAVE NOW DECIDED TO ASK THEIR  
POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO AUTHORIZE THEM TO BEGIN EXPLORING  
A FOLLOW-UP COMPROMISE ON THE BASIS OF TWO  
FINNISH POINTS, I.E. OF "ADEQUATE PREPARATION" AND  
"PERIODICITY." DALE

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